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INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS GROUP

WEEKLY SUMMARY NO. 31

For week ending 14 December 1948

The International Trek

Before adjourning its longest session to date, the UN General Assembly took "interim" action on Korea and Palestine, two items which will undoubtedly come before the Assembly again. Over Soviet bloc opposition, the GA recommended recognition of the Seoul Government as the only legitimate Korean administration and extended the life of the UN Korean Commission. This Commission will supervise troop withdrawal and attempt a rapprochement between the northern and southern regimes. In its final hours, the Assembly passed a watered-down Palestine resolution establishing a three-power conciliation commission. After approving the Declaration of Human Rights and the Genocide Convention, the GA postponed until April consideration of its only remaining major problem, the Italian colonies. Meanwhile, in Washington, the ambassadors from the five Western Union powers and Canada opened discussions with the US on the Atlantic Pact. As the third UNESCO Conference ended in Beirut, UNESCO emerged with a new leadership and a more pro-Western orientation.

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A GA unable to relieve East-West tension. The Paris GA was dominated throughout by extreme tension between the Western Powers and the Soviet bloc, which the UN has conspicuously failed to relieve. Although the ideological isolation of the USSR, as evidenced by the voting record, was more pronounced than at any previous session, the GA again demonstrated its powerlessness directly to shape the course of world events. Where, however, military forces outside the UN were available to contain Soviet aggression, the Assembly could, as on Greece and Korea, add to them the backing of world opinion. The GA, rejecting Soviet views, also gave its approval to the Western thesis on atomic weapons and conventional armaments. The Slav bloc's concentration on dilatory tactics succeeded in prolonging the session and retarding its progress, but, despite the almost uniform rejection of its every proposal, the USSR gave no sign of intending to quit the UN.

While the UN seemed to have no pat solution for the world's difficulties, the indisputable fact remains that so long as the top representatives of the great powers meet to exchange epithets, the subjects of these powers

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are not compelled to exchange anything more lethal. The GA served to bring the dangers to world peace under a merciless searchlight. During the weary months of talk at the Palais de Chaillot, more constructive discussions were underway between the military leaders of the Western world looking toward the formation of a vast regional pact of Atlantic powers under the terms of the UN Charter. Such regional pacts are designed to perform the function which, it had originally been hoped, would be carried out by a UN police force. The Assembly debates may have helped to expose the need for this alternative.

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GA recognizes Palestine fait accompli. Last minute GA adoption of an almost completely emasculated resolution on Palestine reflects Assembly unwillingness to define (as in the 1947 partition resolution) the terms of any solution which would work only if imposed by the UN and a consequent decision to permit the situation to work itself out along the lines of the existing Israeli fait accompli. After events had pretty well run their course in Palestine, the GA finally adopted a simple resolution calling on Arabs and Jews to conciliate. This action was predicated on the belief that military and political realities in the Holy Land would lead the contending parties to some modus vivendi. Such realities are (1) the demonstrated military power of Israel; (2) the absorption by Transjordan of Arab Palestine; and (3) the weakness and disunity of the Arab League. The estimate of the situation given to the Commons by Winston Churchill should also exert some influence on a few of the pro-Arab diehards.

Now that the Assembly has acted, the chances that the Security Council may recommend Israeli admission to the UN are improved. While final action on its application must await the reconvening of the GA in April, the moral effect of a favorable SC recommendation might aid the work of conciliation.

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** A SC action on Indonesia likely. The precipitous breaking off, by the Netherlands, of its Indonesian negotiations greatly increases the possibility that the dispute will be referred to the Security Council. An SC meeting can hardly be avoided despite the pro-Dutch Belgian representative's presidency. With the SC scheduled to adjourn about 16 December and the complexion of the Council due to change in favor of the Republic on 1 January, it would seem advantageous to the Dutch to have SC consideration completed prior to that time.

Because of the seriousness of the situation, the Council probably will not repeat its previous "hot-potato" treatment by which it, plagued by more urgent problems, repeatedly tossed the matter back to its Good Offices Committee. Despite **representations now being made in Paris by Netherlands officials** an SC majority may be expected to advocate a moderate resolution both reaffirming the status quo lines and strengthening the Committee's

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functions to include conciliation -- a solution far short of the reported **Indonesian desire for an injunction against further Dutch "police action" and for arbitrul powers for the present Good Offices Committee.** Barring a French or Soviet veto, such a resolution would gain the seven votes required for passage. Strong opposition to any SC action will no doubt be voiced by France and Belgium, but a French veto is only anticipated on some strongly pro-Republican resolution. Meanwhile the Soviet-Ukrainian position remains an enigma. In the past, the Slav bloc has abstained on the ground that the resolutions did not go far enough. As the upholder of all anti-colonial nationalist aspirations, the USSR will probably advocate some strong anti-Dutch action which will, as before, fail to receive the requisite number of votes.

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Rejuvenated UNESCO may work more closely with Western Powers. The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is emerging from its Third General Conference with a new leadership and with a set of working programs reflecting the more coordinated participation of its Western members. The election of the energetic, practical-minded Jaime Torres-Bodet (Mexico) as Director General, in place of the quixotic Julian Huxley (UK), now affords Western UNESCO members, long critical of Huxley's isolated, idealistic "projects", an opportunity to harness the Organization to activities more related to Western policy objectives. Representative of this new trend are the Conference's instructions to the new DG: (1) create a cultural liaison service among Middle Eastern nations; (2) establish a UNESCO regional office in the Western Hemisphere; (3) work more closely with the Military Occupation authorities in Germany and Japan towards distribution of UNESCO publications; and (4) establish effective liaison with labor elements in countries requiring educational reconstruction. Furthermore, by replacing Czechoslovakia with Italy on the Executive Board, the Western members of UNESCO have effectively reduced the capacity of the Eastern European members (Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary) for obstructing these aims.

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Prospects for US-UK-French dismantling agreement. Discussions being held in London between representatives of the US, UK and France concerning the Humphrey Committee report on the retention of certain German industrial plants originally scheduled for dismantling have encountered French resistance on the familiar grounds that an increase in German productive capacity represents a threat to French security. British objections, based primarily upon considerations of political relations with France and other IARA members, have been less vigorous. Although the US has reiterated that it favors continued destruction or delivery of plants in the "prohibited and restricted industries" not necessary to meet agreed production levels and that it does not at present favor raising the 10,700,000 ton ceiling on German steel production, it has not completely allayed French fears, especially in

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regard to the latter. This is indicated by France's unwillingness to agree to the retention in Germany of more than one-half the number of steel plants recommended by the ECA report as advisable to implement the European Recovery Program. Despite initial opposition to the Humphrey Committee proposals, however, the UK and France are willing to retain 119 and 121 plants respectively as against the ECA request for 183 plants. In spite of the strength and persistence of French fears of future German aggression, the extent of agreement so far attained on the question of plant retention seems to indicate that a substantial acceptance of the US position may be obtained as a result of further negotiations.

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Mexico "Peace and Democracy" Congress implements USSR peace offensive. The Latin American Congress for Peace and Democracy, scheduled for Mexico City in January 1949, is the first organized response within the Western Hemisphere to the call for national congresses in support of "lasting peace and democracy" issued at the August meeting in Wroclaw of the Soviet-oriented World Congress of Intellectuals. Its integral relationship to Communist strategy in other parts of the world is indicated by the prominent organizing roles assigned to the Argentine Communist Ricardo Enquin, liaison for the Cominform on the International Committee in Defense of Peace, and to the Czech diplomat, Adolf Hoffmeister. These two, currently associated in Paris, laid the groundwork for a Latin American "Cominform" in secret discussions with the Argentine Communist leader Vitorio Codovilla during the 1947 UNESCO Conference. The participation of CTAL leaders in preparations for the impending Congress (reported in LA Weekly, 7 December 1948) lends substance to the report that the Congress will set up local labor "committees for peace and democracy" to promote the Communist objective of denying oil and other war materials to the US and UK. However, it can be expected to deal with matters extending beyond such regional objectives and to call for support of a Soviet-sponsored disarmament program against continued "Anglo-American warmongering."

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** Jerusalem compromise proposed. With the GA apparently willing to accept any de facto settlement agreeable to the Arabs and Israelis, some solution of the thorny Jerusalem problem short of full internationalization may eventually occur. **As the US Consul General in Jerusalem points out, the first requisite for an effectively internationalized Jerusalem is a strong international police force and the UN appears unwilling to provide either the force or the necessary funds. Recognizing UN unwillingness to coerce either Arabs or Jews into accepting this plan, the Consul General suggests, as a practical solution, (1) dividing the city into permanent Arab and Jewish areas to be incorporated into Transjordan and Israel; (2) demilitarizing Jerusalem; (3) allowing a Jewish corridor to the coast; (4) establishing a UN commission in Jerusalem to protect the Holy Places, mediate any disputes and supervise common services; (5) passing an SC

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resolution calling for immediate sanctions against any party violating the above provisions.** Such a solution might appeal to Israel, which has long opposed internationalization of Jerusalem, and might be acquiesced in by Transjordan. It might, however, be opposed by the Vatican and those states favoring full international control over a city of such symbolic significance.

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Results of ECAFE meeting. The recent Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) Conference at Lapstone, Australia provided three significant developments: (1) repetition of the Asiatic effort to secure US backing for a "Marshall Plan" for Asia to be developed by ECAFE; (2) another clash between colonial and anti-colonial powers, which came to a head over the seating of the Indonesian Republic; and (3) repeated Soviet efforts to exploit this cleavage by using ECAFE as a sounding board for anti-imperialist, anti-US propaganda. So far, ECAFE activity, not yet for the most part beyond the discussion stage, seems primarily designed to secure US financing of a sizable industrial development scheme. The Asiatic countries, pointing to the Marshall Plan for Europe, are insistent upon obtaining similar US economic aid and their maneuvers will continue to plague the US. There is some danger that US inability to allocate at least some of its resources to the Asiatic nations will result in increased anti-Western sentiment among these countries and give credence to the Soviet ECAFE propaganda line that the imperialist Western nations seek to keep the Asiatic economy in a "semi-colonial" state.

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